/432 cont./

302 574 881 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are especially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did so often during the festival of the [illegible]. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

302 574 609 The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /433/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

> 113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cinco-May Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):147.

302 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

/645 cont./

836 849 The question of a possible illegitimate birth is related to this discussion. Children who have reached puberty are sufficiently enlightened on the subject of sex life (p. 390). After an instance of adultery, neither of the guilty parties, who probably always return to their lawful partners, thinks of the possible consequences of their meeting. As a rule, however, unmarried couples avoid intercourse before marriage, for the girls maintain a remarkably strict reserve, even toward bold youths. This union, however, may have occurred among young people who had already tacitly agreed to marry. In such a case they have been legitimately married long before the fruit of their mutual love appears. Hence there is actually no recognizable illegitimate birth among the Yamana (22).

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22. This is not to deny sexual intercourse by strategy or force between European sailors or farmers and Indian women; the consequences are known far and wide. What the natives themselves thought and still think about this is only occasionally, but clearly enough expressed in the jealousy with which they guard their women and girls in the presence of strangers. See pages 336 and 363 /in untranslated portion of this work/.

834 The separation of children by sex at the time of puberty is intended chiefly to preserve their premarital chastity, as is expressed in clear instructions and warnings. Young people know very well that they are being watched, and although it is difficult for them to avoid the sharp eyes of adults, they sometimes succeed in doing so. On such occasions a bold lad will permit himself unseemly conduct with a girl. Such secrecy is seldom possible and is censured by every adult, in fact, seriously punished by the parents of the little culprit. There can be no question of sexual freedom for the Indian women. The Yamana are not familiar with any kind of ordeals of chastity. They demand decency of young people before marriage, just as they wish to insure freedom

/695 cont./

their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontaneous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly Snow (a):I, 349 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my breast coat-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savage tribes do" /cited in English/ (108). Anyone wishing to win

108. Phillips:58, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1855, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /cited in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (a):I, 326 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /696/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the pauca ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cuttacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

/696 cont./

855 immediately around its neck, or about its person" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

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109. Snow (b):262 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for training to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme... They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindliness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 310 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the hearts of their children. See Gusinde (t):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

842 Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

/731 cont./

551 Although the nickname is merely an adjunct to the proper name, it unequivocally indicates the physical appearances and character of in bearer. It is chosen out of consideration for a physical peculiarity, a striking appearance, a strange habit, an odd nature, or an unusual character trait. Men are given nicknames much more often than women. The Yamana sometimes even surpass our own schoolboys in their aptness for appropriate choices in such names. Here are a few examples that I copied down in August, 1923. I shall preferably choose those nicknames 551 that were applied to Europeans to show that the roguish nature of 609 our Yamana showed itself in front of them, too.

wéngul (wéngulu, "to bore out"), "Twisted Leg." Name of Fred Lawrence whose left leg is somewhat bent.

tellapéla (télla, "eye"), "Eyebrows." This was applied to Guillermo Bridges because of his bushy eyebrows.

úlkélúl (úlkél "forehead"; lu, "red"), "Red Forehead." This was the name for Missionary Pringle and for Martin Lawrence, whose faces were always conspicuously red.

úlkélyágu (úlkél, "forehead"; yágu, "white"), "White Forehead." They were quite right to apply this to Santiago on account of his pale face.

ufkitówa (BD:118 ufkitúuwa, "deaf"), "The Deaf One." Missionary Aspinall, who was very deaf, gave them ample reason for this nickname. /732/

yakáčí (yakáčí, "thin patches of beard around the chin"), "Sparse Goatee." The Yamana hit upon this designation because Thomas Bridges had an unevenly filled-out beard.

551 The Yamana are not always considerate in selecting nicknames; 522 some names border on the improper and people repeat them with glee, in derision of the bearer.

hallúnuwa (hallúnuwa, "negligent, dirty in appearance"), "Slovenly Human Being." A person who pays no attention to his appearance is given this name. A woman may also be called this, hallúnuwakipa.

páčeaúklan (páčea, "behind"; aúklan, "bent upward"), "Bent Upward Behind." Name for a man whose buttocks was unusually prominent because of crippled spinal column.

wúxpiónja (wúxpi, "vulva mulieris"; [d]ónja, masculine ending). I was unable to find out the real meaning of this elusive designation.

/786 cont./

61 clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs
127 which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

60 Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

The Indians call themselves yámana.

60 192

yamana-ówa, man	yamana-á-kípa, woman
yamali(m), people in the plural	yamanaiamalim, human beings
á-aiamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14)	kip-aiamalim, women (23, 49. 55; 24, 22)

[09] Strangers are clearly separated: agípaña, ena, mámaña, the first being meant as European, the last as native strangers.

Ña, human being, man, also uña (23, 2. 4. 14. 19). Ña in Luke (1, 31) used as "not" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

Ña, uña, human being, man	kípa, woman, wife, also kípáhi pa, the same in the eastern part of Beagle Channel

For the latter word kípa-álla, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gálliña (12, 42), "sovereign, aristocracy," tauíngala (21, 12), in the singular tauíña, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 12) or tauíñáia, "the highest" (18, 18), whereas ólalá mikíghua means "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 26).

ukúgala, "the elders, old one," appears in Luke (7, 3).

ma-gálig-ña is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38. 12, 36).

ukúkuyágbuin, male servants (7, 3); ukúkugákípeiamalim, female servants (12, 42. 45).

1; Gusinde--629 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 S196 Yahgan S196

/798 cont./

1. Its Structure

197 634 571

It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (h):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a):1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

• 629 634

Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

609 /799 cont./
634 food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

621 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dia-
634 lect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each
571 one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (j):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Pouthroaya yamana, 'of Ponsonby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be interpreted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (ℓ):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [ēkē], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /800/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). He states that

/854 cont./

X 881 leader adheres to them. What is prevalent today was also the rule among previous generations who kept much more closely to the prevailing customs than the last survivors of this tribe under the inevitable influence of disruptive European culture. We can be X 881 all the more certain that even in modern times this youth initiation is repeated according to the manner and custom of the an- 609 cestors because it is the one thing that is anxiously withheld from the cognizance of all strangers and is open only to fellow-tribesmen as something particularly sacred. We must remember that not even the missionaries, despite decades of association with the natives, obtained a tangible notion of this institution or, even less, direct insight into it (p. 644).

X 881 This section on the daily program of the candidates has been put together on the basis of what we ourselves experienced, sup- 128 plemented with explanations by our Yamana. The description has been built up according to certain points of view, which is why it seems formalistic, but it guarantees that all the details are really brought out /855/ and properly set forth (276). In

> 276. This treatment also facilitates a detailed comparison with the order of the day to which the candidates of the men's celebration among the Selk'nam must submit (Vol. I, 1008).

particular the educational principles upon which the initiation is built come out most clearly. The initiation is, first of all, a continuation of the child's early training which, up to then, it received from its parents in the family circle.

X 881 A valuable bit of educational wisdom has been preserved down to our own day in this čiéxaus celebration, for it has been 177 proved that European culture has exerted no decisive influence on the shaping of the external procedure or the form of the dominant principles. This fact should once again be strongly emphasized. In particular, the religious basis underlying the instruction of the candidates and the causal derivation of the whole performance help us to judge effectively the religious belief of these Fuegians.

X 881 Although fully preserving the traditional, the Yamana do not by any means treat the daily program as a rigid, inflexible

X 881 533 /926 cont./ simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X 881 533 264 The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of hóhohohohō. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X 881 533 535 264 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X 881 537 152 609 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čiẽxaus. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X 881 537 152 609

/926 cont./
people how we conduct the čiéxaus. So we must do it particularly well this time!"

Shortly afterwards he interjected a personal remark into the song of the others: "Today two puāala [instead of palalāala, p. 333 /untranslated/] are sitting among us. We are putting on the čiéxaus for their benefit (340). We want to celebrate it well!"

340. He means by this that Gusinde and Koppers are being granted the distinction never before given a European of experiencing this secret performance from beginning to end.

On the same evening Clara also spoke up: "I have a Halakwulup [Julia] as my protégé. She is doing everything that is required of her here in the čiéxaus; /927/ she faithfully observes all the regulations and is enjoying our celebration. She came here to us because she no longer has any close relatives; she is an orphan. We are gladly taking her in; she may live among us peacefully and undisturbed, for there are only a few of us Yamana left. My family was once also very large; now not one of my relatives is still living. I alone am left, that is why I am so sad; čiéxaus!"

Afterwards Peine interrupted the singing: "I am very happy about those two Whites [Gusinde and Koppers]. They are influential men, and they respect our customs. They are proving themselves uswāala tes [genuine candidates]. They are sticking to the čiéxaus program. That is why I am sincerely sorry that they will leave us soon. They are genuinely good human beings!" She was immediately followed by Mary: "I, too, am happy that these two Whites have become well acquainted with our čiéxaus and have carefully adapted themselves to all [the rules]. They are splendid men!" Old Peine again came forward: "How sorry I am that these two men will leave us! They are heeding the order of this hut better than many of our own people!"

Once, late in the afternoon, Pedro sang a very long time. His soft legato voice sounded like a chorale. Interrupting himself, he said: "I am an old man and have but little vitality left. But now I am happy, for I have heard that this White [Gusinde] wants to

/927 cont./

881 537 152 609 [648]

to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonisación in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a čiéxaus. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever čiéxaus took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

/928 cont./

881 and jumped with sheer joy. His behavior encouraged everyone
537 present.
152 This time blind Whaits also took an extremely active part
609 in the singing. He constantly interrupted it and interjected:
"I am a man well along in years and the singing is a strain on me. If I were still a young chap, as formerly when I took part in the čiéxaus with other young men, I would have more strength and fire, then I would sing better. You cannot expect more from an old, blind man than what I am actually offering." After a short pause he continued sadly: "I am well aware that this affair is not conducted as solemnly and seriously as formerly. I regret that very much. In olden times čiéxaus was unsurpassably beautiful!" As he said this, he was seized with anger; he knew that we two were present: "I am shocked that this time we have even [European] strangers among us. Off with you two! It is a disgrace that our čiéxaus is no longer as beautiful as it used to be, that everyone present no longer takes such an active and conscientious part in the dances as was formerly the rule. Off with you two; what is our čiéxaus to you! Even less should you see it now when it is done so badly. Leave this Great Hut immediately (342)!"

342. It was a momentary surge of high dudgeon that provoked this old man to such insulting words. He soon calmed down, was later thoroughly enlightened by his two daughters, both of whom were our sponsors, and finally proved to be our sincere friend. Through the sponsorship of his daughters, we even became related to him. See Koppers (a): 70.

881 While dinner was being distributed and eaten, great stillness
537 prevailed. After that quite loud group singing started up again.
152 While it was going on, Whaits said: "The song [the melody] that I am singing originated with my uncle. He taught it to me when I was uswála; since then I have repeated it often. How lovely it was in those days when I was still a young chap. At that time there were many people living!"
Somewhat later he added: "All the beautiful šewáli [flints] come from the west. The long úkeša [leather straps to capture the

X 881 537 152

/928 cont./ candidates], too, were best there. They covered the framework of the Great Hut there with the most excellent skins. Truly, everything [that is used for the čiéxaus ceremony] was incomparably more beautiful in the west than in the central part and in the east" (343).

343. In these words there is again a reference to the common view of the origin of this initiation in the extreme west and its infiltration into the central Yamana regions.

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After a while, the same Whaits again interrupted the general singing: "Tomorrow we shall leave the Great Hut. This čiéxaus went off nicely and yet it put me in a sad mood. I am an old /Plate 3 appears here/ /929/ man who does not expect many more years of life. Among us there is a good White, I know him from former times (344). He will help us to keep this

344. On my first visit in February, 1919, I had met this old man in Punta Remolino, talked to him for a long time, and at that time received important data about Fuegian mythology. See Gusinde (a):39.

piece of land here [at Puerto Mejillones]; he promised us that. So, take advantage of his presence, young people! I personally will hardly benefit from it, for I am very old, I feel weak and tired of life. You young people may take advantage of his offer, I wish you success!"

Tormented by anxiety, blind Whaits again came back to this topic. Sadly he said: "Alas, poor me! I have been living in this place for many years. I have grown old. I always had enough to eat and my dwelling always stood here. But the Whites are betraying us Yamana. Now they will take this little spot away from us, then they will drive me and my wife from this island [Navarino]. Woe to us who are so helpless [against the Whites]! Where shall we turn? The Whites are already everywhere. If they should actually drive us away, then let them take

[Text continues on page 808]

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/929 cont./ the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

X881 533 535 152

Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetáita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetáita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetáita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetáita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetáita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetáita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetáita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/1019 cont./
577 friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribes-
476 man.

484 Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups. [609] It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

> 439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

203 /1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered